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ABSTRACT

The three purposes of this guide are to provide information on the Khmer language, alphabet, and educational systems which will be useful to Americans teaching English to Cambodian refugees; to give specific suggestions for teaching Cambodians to write the English alphabet; and to provide teaching materials that deal with the particular pronunciation problems Cambodians have in learning English. The Khmer language is briefly described in terms of its origin and history; its sounds--syllables, vowels, consonants, diphthongs, intonation patterns; its word formation--prefixes, infixes, suffixes; and its sentence structure. The Khmer alphabet is discussed, and the history of education and literacy in Cambodia is briefly traced. A short overview of teaching English to Cambodian refugees is presented as is general information on pronunciation lessons, fourteen of which are included in the guide. Sources for further reference are appended. (EJS)

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Indochinese Refugee Education Guides

General Information Series #18

TEACHING ENGLISH TO CAMBODIAN STUDENTS

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Introduction

In writing this Guide, we have three purposes in mind. First, we want to provide information on the Khmer language, alphabet and educational systems which will be of use to Americans teaching English to Cambodian refugees. We also want to give some specific suggestions for teaching Cambodians to write the English alphabet. Finally, we want to provide teaching materials which deal with the particular pronunciation problems Cambodians have in learning English.

In putting together the Guide, we have been helped by David DeCamp of the University of Texas, Earl Young of the U.S. Department of State, Frank Huffman of Cornell University, and Donna Vanderhoff of Georgetown University. We thank them for their assistance. We owe special thanks to Samnang Soeur, who has read and commented on all parts of the Guide, and who has written in our Khmer examples by hand.

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Before we start talking about Khmer, we should discuss the differences between transliteration and pronunciation, or we will get hopelessly tangled up between letters and sounds.

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From time to time, we will write words in the Khmer alphabet; these will be immediately obvious. Sometimes we will transliterate a word. This means that we will respell the Khmer word in the Khmer alphabet with a particular corresponding letter in the Roman alphabet. Other times, we will represent the pronunciation of a Khmer word. The pronunciation will always be enclosed in square brackets ([]'s). The word for the language and civilization of the Cambodians, for example, is represented:

Khmer alphabet	Transliteration	Pronunciation
ខ្មែរ	Khmer	[kmae]

There will often be discrepancies between the transliteration of a Khmer word and its pronunciation. This is because the Khmer alphabet - like the English alphabet - has more than one way of representing a particular sound of the language. We will discuss this in a later section, but for now be prepared for differences between transliteration and pronunciation.

Be prepared, also, for different interpretations of the word transliteration and its French equivalent on the part of Cambodians, who use it in referring to borrowings from Pali and Sanskrit only. In talking about rewriting Khmer words in the Roman alphabet, they use the term transcription or Romanization.

The Khmer Language

A. General Information

The name of the language that Cambodians speak is Khmer. While Cambodians will understand you if you refer to the language as Cambodian, they always refer to their language as Khmer. (In parallel fashion, we understand what people are talking about when they say that Americans speak "American", but our name for our language is English.)

Khmer is the most important member of the Mon-Khmer language family; most estimates place the number of speakers (as of the fifties and sixties) at about 7,000,000 in Cambodia, northeastern Thailand, and South Vietnam. Other languages in the Mon-Khmer family are spoken by minorities scattered throughout Southeast Asia - many of the Montagnards in Vietnam speak Mon-Khmer languages. The geographical distribution of these languages has led scholars to believe that the Mon-

Khmers arrived in Southeast Asia before any of the other peoples currently there, and that after their arrival, subsequent waves of Thais, Vietnamese and Burmese had the effect of pushing Mon-Khmer groups into the hills, or of wiping out the languages through conquest or assimilation. In any event, Khmer and its relatives are not closely related to Vietnamese, Lao, or any of the other national languages spoken by the Indochinese refugees.

For the last two thousand years or so, the Cambodians have been heavily influenced by the languages and cultures of India. This is immediately apparent in the vocabulary of Khmer; words for everyday things and actions are typically native Khmer words of one or two syllables, but words referring to literature, politics, royalty or other subjects of a learned nature are quite likely to have been borrowed from the ancient Sanskrit language, or from Pali, the religious language of Theravada Buddhism, the state religion of Cambodia. (In this respect, Khmer is like English; most of the words in English for everyday topics are of Old English origin, like sheep, I, walk and so on, but the minute we start discussing elevated topics, words borrowed from French come in, like influence, language, culture.) Words borrowed into Khmer from Sanskrit or Pali are generally easy to spot: they are usually multi-syllabled.

To a much lesser extent, Khmer has words borrowed from Thai, Vietnamese, Chinese and French. Until 1970, business and commerce in Cambodia were largely in the hands of the Chinese and Vietnamese communities living there, and of course, Cambodia was a French protectorate from 1864 until 1953.

There are dialects of Khmer, which differ from one another mostly in pronunciation, and which vary about as widely as the different dialects of American English. A particular Cambodian's pronunciation will depend on which part of Cambodia he comes from, of course; it will also, however, depend on how much education he has had. In the discussions below, we will be talking about the "standard" dialect of Khmer, which is that used in radio broadcasts and taught in schools.

B. The sounds of Khmer

Native Khmer words are of one or two syllables. A single syllable consists of a vowel or diphthong, preceded by one or two consonants, and sometimes followed by a single consonant.

The most noticeable characteristic of Khmer is the number of consonant clusters, or blends, that words can begin with. While Khmer has just seventeen consonants (or twenty-one, depending on your analysis), they combine in all kinds of ways to produce upwards of eighty different clusters. Some of these clusters are quite unusual, as consonant clusters go: some examples are [kbaal] 'head', [dbət]* 'since, because', [mlup] 'shade', and [lmoəm] 'sufficient'.

There are lots of vowels in Khmer: eight short vowels, eight long vowels, three short diphthongs, and eight long diphthongs. (Diphthongs, remember, are combinations of vowels, like oi in English oil.) Here are some examples of short vowels:

[knong] 'in' [sdap] 'listen

[mt͡yul] 'needle' [t͡yeh] 'know'

And of long vowels:

[t͡yiik] 'dig' [t͡yeeh] 'thread'

[koon] 'child' [t͡yəəng] 'foot'

And of short diphthongs:

[peə?]** 'wear' [koəm] 'support'

[luəh] 'repay'

And finally, of long diphthongs:

[t͡yiəh] 'avoid' [luəh] 'wire'

[haet] 'reason' [piə?]** 'word'

Khmer, unlike the other languages the Indochinese refugees speak, is not a tone language. It is, instead, like English in that it has intonation patterns associated with whole sentences. (In English, for example, the only difference in pronunciation between the statement "He's a refugee" and the question "He's a refugee?" is that the first is pronounced with the intonation pattern for statements, and the second with the intonation pattern for questions.) Khmer intonation patterns are similar to those of English, except that in question-word questions (those with the Khmer equivalents of who, where, when, etc.) the pitch of the voice doesn't drop at the end of the sentence as it does in English.

* The [ə] symbol represents a vowel like the one in English but.
** The [?] is like the break between syllables of English uh-uh 'no'.

Khmer has stressed and unstressed syllables and words, as does English. In poly-syllabic words and in compounds, the last syllable receives heavy stress. In sentences (like English) nouns, verbs and adjectives will have heavier stress than particles, prepositions and other "function" words.

The seventeen consonant sounds that occur in native Khmer words are:

[p]

[t]

[t͡y] (close to English ch) (The ͡ indicates that it is a single consonant, not a [t] followed by a [y].)

[k]

[ʔ] (the break between syllables in English uh-uh 'no' is a [ʔ])

[b]

[d]

[s]

[h]

[m]

[n]

[n͡y] as in Russian nyet

[n͡g] as in English sing

[w] (or [v] in certain positions in the Khmer word)

[y]

[l]

[r] like the Spanish r

In vocabulary borrowed from other sources, however, the following additional consonants occur:

[f]

[g]

[z]

[z͡h] as in English measure, beige

Of these, [f], [g] and [z] are heavy-duty consonants in English. In working out the pronunciation lessons, we have assumed that the average Cambodian refugee will have some trouble pronuncing [f], [g], [z] and [z͡h] in English (an assumption borne out when we tested the lessons); keep in mind, however, that the more

educated your Cambodian students are, the less likely they will be to have problems with these particular sounds.

C. Word formation in Khmer

Khmer is unusual, among the languages the refugees speak, in that it has affixes which alter the meaning of the word, or change it from one part of speech to another. English has prefixes and suffixes which do this: in the word trans-portation, trans- is a prefix and -at- and -ion are suffixes. Besides prefixes and suffixes, Khmer has infixes as well, which are affixes dropped into the middle of words. Here are some examples of affixes in Khmer:

Prefixes:

[pdɔl] 'facilitate', from [dɔl] 'reach'*

[tbiət]'pinch', from [biət] 'close together'

[loluəng] 'flatter', from [luəng] 'comfort'

[prɔc͡tyeeng] 'race, compete', from [c͡tyeeng] 'push ahead'

Infixes:

[c͡tynuət] 'turban', from [c͡tyuət] 'make into a turban, wear a turban'

[lbɨən] 'speed', from [lɨən] 'fast'

[smoom] 'beggar', from [soom] 'beg'

[sɔmbɔt] 'oath', from [sbɔt] 'swear'

Suffixes:

[daəmbəy] 'in order to', from [daəm] 'origin'

[ponmaan] 'how much', from [pon] 'equal'

[saamsəp] 'thirty', from [saam] 'three' (this one is borrowed from Thai)

These affixes are not productive; in other words, you can't take any verb in Khmer, insert the -ɔm- infix illustrated above, and get a usable noun out of it (just as you can't tack the English prefix trans- onto, say, the verb run, and get something meaning 'run across': transrun doesn't exist in English).

---

* The [ɔ] symbol represents a vowel like the one in English caught, as pronounced by Americans in the eastern half of the country.

D. Sentences in Khmer

The basic word order in Khmer sentences is subject - verb - object, as it is in English, and in the other refugee languages. The verb be does not occur in sentences like "She is pretty", where what follows the be is an adjective: the Khmer equivalent translates literally as "She pretty". A Khmer verb translating as be does occur in sentences like "She is a teacher", however, when what follows the be is a noun.

Khmer sentences often have what linguists call a "topic"; the phrase the Yankees in the following sentence is a topic: "The Yankees, I think they'll do all right this year."

Khmer, like the other refugee languages, is an isolating language, the term given to languages that do not express grammatical relationships with suffixes like English plural -s or past tense -ed or progressive -ing. Khmer has no suffixes like these, and expresses the sorts of things expressed with suffixes by means of auxiliaries or combinations of separate words. We will give examples when we discuss nouns and verbs below, but in general the Cambodian student of English will find plurals and tenses more difficult than other aspects of English.

Nouns in Khmer have only one form; there are no markings for case, as there are in Latin, or for gender, as there are in many of the European languages, or for plural or possessive, as there are in English. If necessary, the plural of a noun is expressed overtly by adding words, for example:

[səphɨw] 'book'

[səphɨw klah] 'some books'
[səphɨw teng lay] 'the books'
[səphɨw pii] 'two books'

Possessives, which are spelled with 's in English, are expressed in Khmer by adding the possesser after the possessee:

[səphɨw] 'book'

[səphiw knŷom] 'my book'
'book' 'I'
[səphɨw sam nang] 'Som Nang's book'
'book' 'Som Nang'

As you can tell by the examples given above, adjectives and other single-word modifiers come after the nouns they modify, and not before as single-word modifiers do in English. So the Khmer equivalent of the phrase "these two books" is:

[səphɨw pii nih]
'book' 'two' 'this'

Pronouns in Khmer don't change shape, as do their English equivalents: where we would have one or the other of, say, I, my, mine, or me, Khmer would have [knyom]. There are many more personal pronouns in Khmer than in English, and their use depends on the social relationship between the people involved in the conversation. (This is similar to the tu - vous choice in French, or the du - Sie choice in German; but the Khmer system is much more complex.) For example, the Khmer word for 'I' used above, [knyom], is used when the protagonist is referring to himself in a conversation with people he doesn't know well and wants to show respect to; when he is referring to himself in a conversation with intimate friends, or with his social inferiors, he uses the word [any]. There is no gender distinction among third-person pronouns: our protagonist uses the word [koət] to talk about a person of higher social status than he, whatever the sex of that person; and he uses the word [kee] to talk about someone younger or of lower social status than he. The translation of both of these into 'he' or 'she', which is required in English, thus makes a distinction (between sexes) not made in Khmer, while not making the distinction (between higher and lower status) that Khmer does make. It's this sort of thing that makes the life of translators difficult.

As we mentioned earlier, there are no suffixes to mark tenses in Khmer. There are, on the other hand, words which function very much like English auxiliaries and modals (will, should, can, have and so on), which do the kinds of things that English tense suffixes do, and a lot more besides.

It should be pointed out that bare expression of time, which is necessary in English (hence our elaborate tense system), is optional in Khmer sentences. Often context is sufficient to establish when something happened, so a sentence like

[knyom rian]
'I' 'study'

will translate as "I studied", "I am studying", "I study" or "I will study", depending on what has been said or asked beforehand. The time that something happened is also often indicated solely by the occurrence of words that translate as yesterday, now, tomorrow and the like.

Some Khmer auxiliaries go in front of the main verb, for example the word [trəw] 'must', in the sentence

[knyom trəw rian] 'I must study.'
'I' 'must' 'study'

Some auxiliaries go after the verb, for example the word [baan], meaning 'can':

[kn̂yom rian baan] 'I can study.'
'I' 'study' 'can'

Negative sentences in Khmer are formed with auxiliaries; there are several negatives (which roughly correspond to our not, no, never, and so on), most of which come before the verb. There is no "dummy" auxiliary like English do involved in negative formation: the Khmer equivalent of the sentence "I do not study" is:

[kn̂yom min rian]
'I' 'not' 'study'

Khmer questions, likewise, do not involve splitting up the verb and changing word order, as they do in English. Yes-no questions in Khmer are formed by adding the question particle [tee] (which is really a negative) after the verb, and pronouncing the sentence with rising intonation. Note that the English question "Do you read?", which involves shifting auxiliaries and subjects around, translates into Khmer as:

[neəq məəl tee]
'you' 'read' 'no

In the same way, question-word questions (involving the Khmer equivalents of who, where, etc.) are formed just by putting the question word in the place in the sentence where the corresponding noun or prepositional phrase or whatever would go. In the Khmer equivalent of the question "Who do you see?", for example,

[neəq kheen neʔnaa]
'you' 'see' 'who'

the question word [neʔnaa] is the regular direct object position.

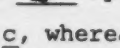
In the discussion above, we have focussed on the points of Khmer structure which differ from English structure. In general, however, basic sentence formation between the two languages is relatively similar. In any event, the points of difference between Khmer and English are aspects of English which are pretty hard-hit in good ESL texts. Such things as the forms of be, word-order changes in negatives and questions, the different tenses and their uses and so on, are points that all ESL students find difficult; your Khmer-speaking students will probably not require work on these points that isn't already provided by your text.

The Khmer Alphabet

The alphabet used by Cambodians is an old one - the earliest inscriptions in Khmer date from the 7th century A.D. As we mentioned before, the Cambodians have been heavily influenced by the languages and cultures of India; one of the results is the Khmer alphabet, which even now can clearly be seen to be derived from Indic sources.

The Indic languages had (and have) a lot of consonants and not that many vowels, whereas Khmer has relatively few consonants and a lot of vowels and diphthongs. The source alphabet, which worked efficiently for the Indic languages, had to be adjusted somewhat to represent Khmer. The adjustment arrived at is a system whereby the choice of symbol to represent a consonant at the beginning of a syllable is determined by what the vowel of the syllable is. All of this is too complicated to go into in detail, but note, in the following examples, how the [ty] sound is represented by different symbols because the vowels in the words are different:

Khmer symbol(s)	Sound(s) represented	Translation
	[t͡y]	
	[t͡yaak]	'aquatic plant'
	[t͡y]	
	[t͡yuek]	'suck'

All of this is why there are discrepancies between transliterations and phonetic representations of Khmer words. The  symbol for [ty] listed above is typically transliterated as c, whereas the symbol is typically transliterated as j, even though the two symbols are pronounced the same.

The order of symbols in a particular Khmer written word does not necessarily correspond to the order in which the sounds are pronounced. The first consonant of a syllable is sort of the base symbol, around which symbols for the other sounds in the syllable are placed. Note how the word [t͡yrat] 'lean on' is written:

Khmer symbols	Sounds
	[t͡y]
	[t͡yr]
	[t͡yra]
	[t͡yrat]

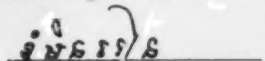
Sometimes there is no separate symbol for the vowel in the word, as in the examples on the previous page, and in:

Khmer symbols	Sounds
	[t͡y] or [t͡yaa]
	[t͡yr] or [t͡yraa]
	[t͡yraam] 'grasp'

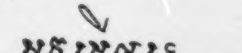
What's happening here is that the basic consonant symbols have "inherent" vowels associated with them, so if no vowel is written, the "inherent" vowel (in this case [aa]) is assumed. This is a feature directly taken from the Indic alphabets.

While the order of symbols in a written word might not correspond to the order in which the sounds are pronounced, syllables and words are ordered, from left to right on the page, corresponding to the order in which they are said. The words in a phrase or sentence are usually written with no spaces between them, although sometimes spaces are left to indicate items in a series or breaks between grammatical phrases. There is no capital letter-small letter system. Some punctuation marks are used, notably the symbol ។ to indicate the end of a sentence or paragraph.

Here is the written representation of the sentence we talked about on page 13:

Khmer alphabet: 
Pronunciation: [k͡nyom mɨn riən]
Translation: 'I don't study.'

And here is a question:

Khmer alphabet: 
Pronunciation: [neəq məəl tee]
Translation: 'Do you read?'

Here is a sample of a passage (it's a piece of journalistic political criticism, reproduced from Huffman and Proum's Cambodian Literary Reader and Glossary (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977):

១. បច្ចក្ខរក្ខរកូនចៅមកពីណា

(ស្នាដៃឃ្លោះឆ្លងទន្លេ)

បុព្វកថា

' បច្ចក្ខរក្ខរកូនចៅមកពីណា' ជាអត្ថបទមួយដកស្រង់ចេញពីសៀវភៅ ' ឃុំជន
ស្រោចស្រង់ជាតិ ' ។ អត្ថបទនេះបង្ហាញនៅក្នុងសៀវភៅនិងសាពត៌
មានផ្សេង ៗ ទៅស្រុកខ្មែរសម័យថ្មី ។ មានកត្តាមួយយ៉ាងសំខាន់ដែលបណ្តាលឲ្យស្រុកខ្មែរសម្បូណ៌
ទៅដោយអក្ខរជនយ៉ាងនេះ : តាំងពីដើមរហូតមកដល់ឆ្នាំ ១៨៥០ ស្រុកខ្មែរជាស្រុកមានល្បាច ។
នៅក្រោមអំណាចល្បាច ការចិញ្ចឹមគ្រូនិងអ្នកសិក្សា ត្រូវបានគ្រប់គ្រងមិនសូវមានទាល់តែ
សោះ ។ បើអ្នកឯណាមួយមានចិត្តចិញ្ចឹម អ្នកនោះត្រូវទទួលទោសថាទើលជាយ ' ព្រះបាទស្តាប់
...ទោស : កំបុត ។ ម្ល៉ោះហើយគេមិនដែលចិញ្ចឹមនរណាទេ ។ បើគេឃើញឃើញថា មន្ត្រី
ឬនរណាមួយផ្ញើខុសឆ្គងខ្លាំងពេក គេទៅបញ្ចុះបញ្ចូលទារស្រែនិងផ្ទៃសម្រាប់ប្រឆាំងតែម្តង ។
ក្នុងអតីតកាលនិមិត្តរូបអក្ខរក្ខរមានសេរីភាពខ្លះក្នុងការសរសើរដល់គំនិតកំ
ប៉ោយ ការចិញ្ចឹមមិនចាំ ឬបញ្ជាតបញ្ជៀងនៅតែមានចូរចែរនូវប្លោះ ត្រោះតែគេនៅតែ
ញុះញង់ ។ ' បច្ចក្ខរក្ខរកូនចៅមកពីណា' ជាឧទាហរណ៍មួយនឹងបង្ហាញពីការចិញ្ចឹមបញ្ជាត
បញ្ជៀងយ៉ាងខ្លាំង យ៉ាងណាមាន និងយ៉ាងប៉ុន្មានដែរ ។

The passage above was typed on a Cambodian typewriter, whereas the rest of our examples have been written in by hand. Cambodian typewriters are very hard to find in the United States; most of what you see in the way of newsletters in Khmer have been handwritten.

The above description of the Khmer alphabet is very sketchy; if you are interested in a more detailed description, the Henderson article, the Headley dictionary, and the Huffman Beginning Reader, listed in the section on sources, are good places to start.

Education and Literacy in Cambodia

Education seems to have been a major concern in Cambodia for centuries. Temple schools run by Buddhist monks were in operation in medieval times, and when the French took over the region in the nineteenth century, there were temple schools in most villages. Instruction in these temple schools was open to boys only; the language of instruction was Khmer. Subjects taught were reading and writing, the principles of Buddhism, and manual arts.

When the French arrived, they introduced "modern" education, gradually establishing public or state schools. All education was in French in these state schools, and the Khmer people apparently were not too enthusiastic about them. In the twenties, an experimental school, which combined the temple school with French teaching methods, was set up. This modernized temple school, which taught the same curriculum as the state schools, except in Khmer, was much more popular with the Cambodians, and so the French expanded on the model, hoping eventually to convert the modernized temple schools to state schools. By the early fifties, state schools, taught entirely in French, co-existed with modernized temple schools, taught in Khmer, and also with private schools taught in Chinese, Vietnamese, Khmer, English, or whatever.

After Cambodia became independent in 1953, there was increasing popular interest in education. At that time, Khmer was introduced as the language of instruction in the state primary schools; in 1967, Khmer was introduced as the language of instruction in secondary schools; and in 1971 an official schedule was proposed whereby all public education in Cambodia, even on the university level, was to be conducted in Khmer by 1974.

As Khmer replaced French as the language of instruction, the teaching of French assumed less and less importance. It was still taught as a school subject on the primary level, however, during the years when secondary education was conducted in French.

Along with the interest in primary and secondary education, a concern for developing literacy in Khmer arose after the withdrawal of the French in Cambodia in 1953. In the sixties, the Khmer government set up a massive literacy campaign for adults, which involved civil servants as teachers of literacy and basic education in evening classes. After six months of attending classes, an adult was supposed to be able to read a short paragraph, take six or seven lines of dictation, and do simple math problems; if the adult could do these, he or she was given a certificate of literacy.

All education programs were disrupted to a greater or lesser extent during the war in Cambodia. Since the establishment of Democratic Kampuchea in 1975, it has been difficult to find out about current education in Cambodia. From François Ponchaud's account in Cambodia: Year Zero, it would seem that education above the primary level is non-existent. The focus of the regime on the worker and peasant

as the most valuable members of society is generally inconsistent with the development of higher education.

Teaching English to Cambodian Refugees

Most ESL professionals make a distinction between illiterate ESL students - those who do not read or write in any language - and ESL students who don't know a Roman alphabet but who are literate in their own script. The Cambodian refugee who reads Khmer will have far, far less difficulty in coping with the English alphabet than his countryman who doesn't read Khmer. All the former has to learn is the particular squiggles that constitute Roman letters, and the conventions associated with ordering of letters in a word, capitalization, and punctuation; other than that, the reading process is the same as it is for Khmer. His illiterate counterpart, on the other hand, has to learn the principle that sounds can be represented on paper, and then the particular squiggles that constitute Roman letters, capitalization and punctuation -- all of this on top of the problems he will have in coping with the newness of learning in a formal classroom setting.

The Cambodians who have had some education will, depending on their age and what kind of school they attended in Cambodia, possibly have had some exposure to French. In this case, they will probably remember the alphabet, and therefore have correspondingly less trouble with the English alphabet.

English language teaching for Cambodians who read Khmer proceeds as it does with other groups, except that care must be taken to show the Cambodian student the particulars of the English alphabet. This is probably best accomplished by setting aside a time each class session for alphabet work, and working through a handwriting text specifically designed for writers of non-Roman alphabets. (The one we know of, by Rayner W. Markley, is listed in the Sources section.) In classes composed solely of Cambodians, this is easily done; in mixed classes of, say, Vietnamese, Lao and Cambodian students, the Lao and Cambodian students can work on alphabet practice (perhaps with an aide) while you work on pronunciation problems that your Vietnamese students have, but that your Lao and Cambodian students don't have.

As your Cambodian student is learning the English alphabet, you should keep in mind that copying down what you are saying or writing on the blackboard will distract

him; you might plan to spend extra time helping him copy words and sentences down before or after class, then encourage him not to write during class. He will benefit greatly from copying exercises, or writing out drills, as homework.

As we mentioned before, all of this is very different from teaching Cambodians - or any other group - who are illiterate in their own language. In that case, your whole approach to teaching English has to be altered to take into account your students' basic literacy problems, and their inexperience in a formal classroom environment. The National Indochinese Clearinghouse is preparing a guide dealing with the specific problems of teaching English to illiterates; for the moment, however, keep in mind that there are crucial differences between your Cambodian refugee students who can read Khmer, and those who are illiterate.

The alphabet question aside, there is no reason why learning English per se should give your Cambodian students any more difficulty than it gives anyone else. You'll quickly notice that English pronunciation, in particular, will come relatively easily. Cambodians who know French will be miles ahead in tackling English vocabulary as well.

Teachers have reported that their Cambodian students tend to be intimidated and overshadowed by other nationalities in a class, especially in situations where they are very much outnumbered. Refugees we have talked to about this account for it with historical events and intercultural relationships, neither of which you can do anything about as an ESL teacher. You can, however, assert your authority as teacher, to ensure that each of your students, whatever his nationality, does his share of the talking and participating in class. You will probably find that your Cambodian students (and other refugee students, as well) in general respond positively to authoritarian teaching; formal classroom relationships, with the teacher as absolute authority, are what they expect in educational programs, and the closer you come to their expectations, the more comfortable they will feel in your class.

Pronunciation Lessons for Cambodians

The fourteen lessons that follow deal with the particular pronunciation problems that Cambodians are likely to have. As we mentioned in an earlier section, the problems that an individual Cambodian student will have in pronouncing English will vary widely with his educational background; you might find that your Cambodian

students' English is perfectly understandable without any special attention on your part.

On the other hand, if you are dealing with Cambodians who do not know the Roman alphabet, you should devote some special attention to their pronunciation, to make sure that they hear the differences between problem sounds before you ask them to deal with the letters that represent them.

The pronunciation lessons that follow provide the teacher with words and sentences which can be used to teach Cambodian students to distinguish between sounds he is likely to have trouble with, and also to pronounce the problem sounds so they can be understood by Americans. The lessons consist of minimal pairs, minimal sentences, practice sentences, and notes.

Minimal pairs are pairs of words which differ in only one sound, like bit - beat, sin - sing, and so on. We are talking about sounds, not spellings; road and rogue are a minimal pair, despite the fact that their spellings differ in more than one way. Their phonetic representations [rowd] and [rowg] indicate more clearly that they are minimal pairs. (A reminder here, that we are enclosing pronunciation representations in square brackets, as we did when we were talking about Khmer. The word road is pronunced [rowd].)

Sometimes minimal pairs are hard to find. In these cases, we have listed near-minimal pairs, like berg - bark.

The minimal sentences are like minimal pairs, except that the sounds in question are put into whole sentences. What an ugly goat and What an ugly coat are minimal sentences, exactly alike except for the [g] of goat and [k] of coat.

The practice sentences given in the lessons have been engineered to provide students with practice in the sounds the lessons deal with. We have tried to keep the sentences simple, so that beginning students will understand them. These sentences are very much like tongue-twisters are to native speakers of English, and should be approached in the same light-hearted fashion.

The notes in the lessons are for the teacher; they explain why the sounds in the lessons are problems for Cambodians, and give suggestions for teaching the lesson.

Teaching the Lessons

Cambodians will have trouble with sounds which occur in English but not in Khmer, or which pattern differently in Khmer and English. These problem sounds should be tackled one by one, first teaching the students to distinguish aurally the sounds they are likely to confuse; then teaching them to pronounce the problem sounds so they can be understood; and finally helping them to establish the understandable pronunciation as a habit.

For example, the first lesson deals with the sounds [g] as in goat and [k] as in coat. As the notes to the teacher explain, [g] does not ordinarily occur in Khmer, and the Khmer-speaker will confuse English [g] with [k].

Perception

1. The first step in teaching [g] and [k] is to get your student to hear the difference between [g] and [k], and realize that the difference in sound is what makes words different. This can be done in a number of ways. One way is to make up a set of pictures which show, say, a goat and a coat. Hold up the goat picture and say goat; then hold up the coat picture and say coat. Alternately, if you have a Cambodian bilingual aide, or if one of your students has a wide vocabulary, you can get the minimal pairs translated: write goat and coat on the board, and have your aide or student write the Khmer equivalents next to them.

2. Once you have established that the meanings of words change along with an alternation between [g] and [k], you should teach the students to hear the differences between [g] and [k] (you're not getting them to pronounce the pairs yet). One way of doing this is to list the minimal pairs on the blackboard, e.g.:

1	2
goat	coat
girl	curl
muggy	mucky, etc.

Then, pointing to the goat/coat line, say one or the other of the words, and ask your students to tell you if what you've said is a '1' or a '2' word. (Or you could write the g words on one side of the board and the k words on the other, and have your students point to the proper column.) (If you have pictures, they can point to those.)

Another technique for teaching students to distinguish problem sounds is to say pairs of words, and ask the student to tell whether the words are "same" or "different". Say, for example, "coat - coat"; the students should respond to the words as "same"; and if you say "coat - goat", the response should be "different". Carry on at random, until the students respond instantly and correctly.

3. When the students easily distinguish the problem sounds in words, go through the same procedure with the minimal sentences. This step is quite important, as outside of class the problem sounds will be buried in sentences or phrases.

Production

1. When your students clearly hear the difference between [k] and [g] (you'll be surprised how quickly this happens), you can go on to teach them how to pronounce the [g]. Most ESL teachers simply ask the students to repeat the words in the minimal pairs one at a time, first with the students repeating in chorus, then individually. What the student does with the difficult sounds, essentially, is to try random pronunciations until he hits on one that sounds good to his teacher. When your students can manage the pronunciation of the problem sounds, you can reverse the activities mentioned earlier; have the students repeat words for you to judge as same or different, etc.

2. When your students are comfortable with the sounds in question, you can go on to drill the minimal sentences. We have listed some of the sentences in phrases, to remind you to start with smaller elements and build up to the whole sentence. Start with phrases from the end of the sentence, and work forward; this will keep your intonation more natural, e.g.:

You: coat
Students: coat
You: an ugly coat
Students: an ugly coat
You: What an ugly coat
Students: What an ugly coat, etc.

3. The next step is the practice sentences, which, as we mentioned before, should be approached light-heartedly, like tongue-twisters. (Skip any sentences that require too much explanation of meaning and vocabulary, and make up sentences

of your own to supplement the ones we've given.) Drill the sentences the same way as the minimal sentences.

4. As a final step, you should go over any vocabulary you have covered which has [k] or [g] in it; list the words on the board, point out the occurrences of the sounds, and have your students pronounce them several times.

Reminding

After you have taught the lesson on [g] and [k], and are sure that your students can both hear and produce the two sounds, you can correct your students' errors on [g] and [k] when they come up in class. Even when your students can pronounce [g], they will forget to if they are concentrating on other aspects of English; once they have been through the pronunciation lesson on [g] and [k], a quick reminder ("Watch your g's" for example) will jog their memories, and help them establish the correct pronunciation as a habit.

General Hints

The only aspect of English word and sentence stress and intonation that is likely to give your Cambodian students pause is that heavy stress in English falls on different syllables depending on the word, rather than always on the final syllable as it does in Khmer. Simply marking the stress on the word when you first introduce it (writing, say sýllable on the board) and commenting on the stressed syllable should be sufficient.

As you are teaching pronunciation, you should try at all times to keep your own pronunciation natural, and speak at the same pace you normally do. Slowing down your pronunciation, or pronouncing syllables more distinctly than you ordinarily do, hinders rather than helps your students; they have to deal with normally-spoken English outside the classroom. If your students comment that "We understand everything in class, but have trouble outside", you should consider carefully whether they are hearing normally paced and prcnounced English from you.

In some of the lessons, we have indicated that you should probably not ininsist on perfection in your students' production of a particular sound. Your overall goal should be to make their pronunciation easily understandable by native English speakers, and to see to it that they understand normally spoken

English. Some sounds - notably the th sounds and English r - are not worth the time it takes to teach perfect pronunciation; if your students can hear, say, English th correctly, and consistently produce something that is an understandable substitute for the th, there is probably no need to spend the necessary time getting them to produce a perfect th.

This has been a very cursory discussion of procedures in teaching pronunciation. There are more extensive explanations and suggestions in the pronunciation texts listed in the last section of this Guide.

Pronunciation Lessons

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Lesson One:
[g] and [k]

[g]	[k]
gold	cold
girl	curl
goat	coat
gauze	cause
bigger	bicker
tagging	tacking

goat
an ugly goat
What an an ugly goat!

muggy
it's very muggy
It's very muggy over there.

a league
a major league
This is a major league.

[g]	[k]
muggy	mucky
league	leak
bag	back
pig	pick
berg	bark

coat
an ugly coat
What an ugly coat!

mucky
it's very mucky
It's very mucky over there.

a leak
a major leak
This is a major leak.

The girl had golden curls.
Gordon was glad class was cancelled.
The glass was good and clean.
The beggar's leg is broken.
She baked cookies for her grandchildren.
Good luck in class.
Ask Greg to lock the back door.

Notes

1. The [g] sound (as in get, not as in gem) does not ordinarily occur in Khmer; it might be confused with the [k] sound, especially after [r].
2. At the ends of words, [g] might be confused with [d]. There's a separate lesson on this.
3. Point out to your students that the letter g does not always represent the sound in get, but sometimes is pronounced as a [j] as in gem. There's a lovely song on this problem from Sesame Street, revolving aroung Grover and Georgie!

Lesson Two:

[v], [w], [f], and [b]

[v]	[w]	[f]	[b]
vine	wine	fine	bind
veil	whale	fail	bale
veered	wierd	feared	beard
very	wary	ferry	berry
lover	lower	loafer	lubber
rove	row	roof	robe
groove	goo	goof	cube

wine
a fine wine
Buy a fine wine.

vine
a fine vine
Buy a fine vine.

calves
the calves
find the calves
Where did you find the calves?

cabs
the cabs
find the cabs
Where did you find the cabs?

curve
on the curve
Accidents happen on the curve.

curb
on the curb
Accidents happen on the curb.

The veil is wierd.
The ferries are very big.
Did he shuffle them?
They rowed along the river.

The whale is wierd.
The berries are very big.
Did he shovel them?
They roved along the river.

When will Walt buy the blocks?
It's safer living in the cove.
Every evening young lovers wander in the park.
The price of loafers is lower now.
Harvey bought the marble at the hardware store.
They offered me corn on the cob.

Notes

1. [b] in Khmer is an implosive (it's pronounced with the air sucked in instead of out); this kind of [b] pronounced in English will be perfectly easy to understand, but will sound a little foreign. There is no need to correct your students' [b] to an English [b].
2. [f] occurs only in foreign words borrowed into Khmer. Point out to your students that the letters ph are usually pronounced as [f] in English, e. g. photo, pharmacy and so on. One of the letters of Khmer, which represents [p], is transliterated as ph (e.g. Phnom Penh!), and might throw the unsuspecting Cambodian a curve.
3. [v] doesn't occur as a separate sound in Khmer, and is likely to be confused with [b] or [w].
4. We have combined all these sounds in one lesson because all of them are confused with all others at one point or another. You will probably want to break the lesson down and contrast just one sound with one other sound, at the point where your particular students bog down.

Lesson Three:

[θ], [s], and [t]

[θ]	[s]	[t]
thighs	sighs	ties
thank	sank	tank
thick	sick	tick
myth	miss	mitt
bath	bass	bat

mouse	mouth
a big mouse	a big mouth
What a big mouse!	What a big mouth!
team	theme
a good team	a good theme
It's a good team.	It's a good theme.
It's unsinkable.	It's unthinkable.
The pass was open.	The path was open.
Where's the boot?	Where's the booth?
He taught all day.	He thought all day.

I thought Tom's birthday was last week.
Ruth is too thin.
Sid is singing in the bathtub.
Sam wants some rice.
Thank you for the bat and mitt.

Notes

1. The [θ] sound is the one spelled th in thin, not the sound spelled th in then. The th sound in then is worked on in Lesson Four.
2. The [θ] sound is usually very difficult for ESL students to learn, and probably not worth the time it takes to teach it. Unless you're out for perfect pronunciation, you'll want to teach your students to hear the difference, but not stress the production too much. (After all, there are

Lesson Three cont.

whole cities full of Americans who don't pronounce [θ].)

3. The Cambodian will hear [θ] as either [s] or [t]; he will have no difficulty distinguishing [s] from [t], however.
4. One of the [t] sounds in Khmer is occasionally transliterated into Roman alphabets as th, and might confuse your students.

Lesson Four:
[ð], [z], and [d]

[ð]	[z]	[d]
then	Zen	den
thither	zither	dither
soothe	sues	sued
writhe	rise	ride
lathe	lays	laid

fodder	father
have no fodder	have no father
They have no fodder.	They have no father.

wordy	worthy
weren't wordy	weren't worthy
They weren't wordy.	They weren't worthy.

D's	These
.e bad marks.	These are bad marks.

I'm a little under the weather.
Take a dose of this medicine.
Sue's father sued the Zen Buddhists.
David and Louise loathe new clothes.
They like those things.

Notes

1. [ð] doesn't occur in many words in English, although it's in the often-used pronouns they, their, them, these and those, and in the adverb there. You'll probably not want to spend the time necessary to get your students to pronounce [ð] perfectly, as the [z] or [d] they substitute for it is quite understandable.
2. [d] in Khmer is implosive. Se the note on [b] in lesson two.

Lesson Five:

[y] and [j]

[y]	[j]	[y]	[j]
use	Jews	way	wage
you	Jew	ray	rage
yam	jam	mayor	major
yellow	jello	hay	hedge
yip	gyp	weighed	waged
playing	pledging		

yams
sweet yams
I like sweet yams.

jams
sweet jams
I like sweet jams.

hay
Cut the hay.

hedge
Cut the hedge.

Hugh is playing today.
Yellow is my favorite.
That's a bad yolk.
He went to Yale.

Hugh is pledging today.
Jello is my favorite.
That's a bad joke.
He went to jail.

Hugh and George are Jewish.
Jack gypped you yesterday.
She used up the huge bowl of yellow jello.
The wedge of onion gave off a pungent odor.

Notes

1. [j] does not ordinarily occur in Khmer. It will be confused with [y], or with [ž] (in the next lesson).

Lesson Six:
[ž] and [j]

[z]	[j]
version	virgin
?ersion	legion
Asia	ages
azure	edger
pleasure	pledger
garage	barge
beige	page

Asia	ages
in Asia	in ages
It hasn't rained in Asia.	It hasn't rained in ages.

garage	lodge
near the garage	near the lodge
The edger is near the garage.	The edger is near the lodge.

Put the garbage behind the hedge.
The seizure affected his vision.
The garage is beige.
The gems are on the jet.

Notes

1. Neither [ž] nor [j] ordinarily occurs in Khmer.

Lesson Seven:

[i], [ɪ] and [ɛ]

[i]	[ɪ]	[ɛ]
beat	bit	bet
peak	pick	peck
scene	sin	send
leafed	lift	left
reach	rich	wretch
neat	knit	net
feel	fill	fell

beat	bit	bet
beat it	bit it	bet it
He beat it.	He bit it.	He bet it.

scene	sin
a scene	a sin
What a scene!	What a sin!

lift	left
lift it	left it
We lift it.	We left it.

We feed the sheep.	We fed the sheep.
Don't sleep on the deck of the ship.	Don't slip on the deck of the ship.

Please sit here in this seat.
Brett didn't win the bet.
Those men are mean.
Do you still steal?
This lesson is easy.
Did Dennis get his check?

Notes

1. [ɛ] and [ɪ] do not occur in Khmer. Sometimes Cambodians will successfully substitute the diphthongs [iə] (which English has in the phrase "see us" and [eə] (as in "pay us") for [ɪ] and [ɛ], respectively.

Lesson Eight:

[ɛ] and [æ]

[ɛ]	[æ]
dead	Dad
said	sad
better	batter
guess	gas
slept	slapped
leg	lag
men	man
the men	the man
laughed at the men	laughed at the man
Beth laughed at the men.	Beth laughed at the man.
pen	pan
pen leaks badly	pan leaks badly
That pen leaks badly.	That pan leaks badly.
She won't talk about the pest.	She won't talk about the past.
That's better.	That's batter.

I guess this gas is better.
Spread jam on the bread.
Jack sat on the bench.
Cathy found ten shells in the sand.

Notes

1. Neither of these vowels occurs in Khmer.

Lesson Nine:

[s] at ends of words

[Ø]	[s]
knee	niece
eye	ice
pea	peace
lay	lace
saw	sauce
saw	sauce
the saw	the sauce
I need the saw.	I need the sauce.
play	place
the play	the place
We saw the play.	We saw the place.
His knee gives him trouble.	His niece gives him trouble.
He kept his eye on it.	He kept his ice on it.

That's a nice vase.
Where did you lay the lace?
He hit his knee on the ice.

Notes

1. Cambodians tend to substitute an [h] for an [s] at the ends of words. [h] doesn't occur at the ends of words in English, so a final [h] will not be understood by Americans.
2. The [Ø] symbol represents the absence of a sound.

Lesson Ten:

[d] and [g] at the ends of words

[d]	[g]
lead	league
road	rogue
bed	beg
bud	bug
sad	sag
did	dig
aid	egg

road	rogue
the road	the rogue
the end of the road	the end of the rogue
This is the end of the road.	This is the end of the rogue.

bud	bug
the bud	the bug
The bud is dead.	The bug is dead.

David is going to bed.	David is going to beg.
We did it.	We dig it.

Did the dog dig up the flower bed?

The pig had rolled in the mud.

Fog hid the road.

Notes

1. [g] doesn't occur in Khmer, and [d] doesn't occur at the ends of words.

Lesson Eleven:

[l] and [r] before [d]

[l]	[ld]	[r]	[rd]
ball	bald	bar	bard
coal	cold	core	cord
mile	mild	mire	mired
bowl	bold	bore	board
pull	pulled	purr	purred
call	called	car	card
seal	sealed	sear	seared
bill	billed	beer	beard

car	card
the car	the card
Where's the car?	Where's the card?
core	cord
the core	the cord
He threw away the core.	He threw away the cord.
That's a good beer.	That's a good beard.
He has a big bill.	He has a big build.

Her herd is cured.
The car tire caught on fire.
The guard heard their cries for help.
That bore tired me out.

Notes

1. [r] does not occur at the ends of words in Khmer. Particularly in clusters with [d] (which are important, as clusters with [d] happen all the time in past tenses), [r] will be confused with [l], or the [d] won't be heard.

Lesson Twelve:

[r] at ends of words

[ø]	[r]
die	dire
tie	tire
my	mire
row	roar
jaw	jar
tie	tire
an old tie	an old tire
It's an old tie.	It's an old tire.
It's dye.	It's dire.
His jaw is broken.	His jar is broken.

My back is so sore today.
Do you care if I borrow your car?
My last name is Myer.
He tore a muscle in his toe.

Notes

1. [r] does not occur at the ends of words in Khmer. Cambodians will probably substitute diphthongs with [ə] for final [r], and be easily understood: there are a lot of native English speakers who pronounce final [r]'s that way. You will probably want to focus, then, on your Cambodian students' hearing the American final [r] as [r], and not worry too much about their production of it.

Lesson Thirteen:
[č] and [š]

[č]	[š]
chip	ship
cherry	sherry
leeches	leashes
watches	washes
catch	cash
crutch	crush
Welch	Welsh
cherry	sherry
the cherry	the sherry
She enjoyed the cherry.	She enjoyed the sherry.
matching	mashing
matching the potatoes	mashing the potatoes
He's matching the potatoes.	He's mashing the potatoes.
Can you hear them chatter?	Can you hear them shatter?
She has an orange crutch.	He has an orange crush.
There is water in the ditches.	There is water in the dishes.

He washes watches for a living.
The Welsh marshall is harsh.
The bird won't perch in the birch.
She's carrying a torch for Mr. Walsh.
Watch what you wish for.

Notes

1. Neither [č] nor [š] occurs in Khmer. Cambodians will successfully substitute the Khmer sound [ty] for English [č], but will occasionally get [č] and [š] mixed up.

Lesson Fourteen:

Past tenses

[C]*	[C+t]	[C]	[C+d]
hope	hoped	rob	robbed
like	liked	beg	begged
watch	watched	damage	damaged
cough	coughed	live	lived
froth	frothed	soothe	soothed
miss	missed	use	used
push	pushed	mail	mailed
		seem	seemed
		open	opened
		bang	banged
		order	ordered

hope	hoped
hope for rain	hoped for rain
The farmers hope for rain.	The farmers hoped for rain.
They dine out every weekend.	They dined out every weekend.
The door was open.	The door was opened.
They seem sad.	They seemed sad.

He banged his thumb.
We ordered three chairs.
The thieves robbed the bank., etc.

Notes

1. [d] doesn't occur at the ends of words in Khmer, and consonant clusters don't either. Your Cambodian students are likely to drop the past tense [d] or [t] for pronunciation reasons, as well as for being unaccustomed to expressing past tense with a suffix.

* C= consonant

Lesson Fourteen cont.

2. You will want to come up with more practice sentences. As you do so, try to have the word following the past tense verb start with a consonant, e.g. He robbed the bank, rather than He robbed a bank. The past tense ending is far more likely to be dropped if it's followed by a consonant, so you might as well give your students examples of what they find the most difficult.

Sources for Further Reference

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Picture-essay on life in Phnom Penh, and in the rural areas of Cambodia. Different aspects of Cambodian life are touched on briefly, e.g. descriptions of Angkor Wat, rice farming, marriage and funeral services, a rubber plantation, etc. Cambodia's precarious position as a neutral country is discussed, and official and unofficial attitudes towards Americans.

Bowen, J. Donald. Patterns of English Pronunciation. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1975. About $7.00.

A graded presentation of the sounds of English, first individually, then in combinations, for students on any ESL level. A transcription system is used, and there are lost of exercises.

Department of the Army. Area Handbook for Cambodia. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972. No. 008-020-00445-6, about $6.00.

An extensive description of Cambodia, written by the staff of the American University Foreign Area Studies Division for the use of American army personnel. Contains non-technical but detailed information on the geography, history, culture and politics of Cambodia.

English Language Services, Inc. Drills and Exercises in English Pronunciation. New York: Collier-Macmillan, 1971. About $4.50.

Texts to be used on any ESL level. Book I deals with consonants and vowels, Books II and III with stress and intonation. Introductions to the books include suggestions for teaching.

Ehrman, Madeline E. Contemporary Cambodian: Grammatical Sketch. Washington, D.C.: Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, 1972. Available as ERIC Document ED 066 094 ($6.50), from ERIC Document Reproduction Service, Computer Microfilm Corporation, P. O. Box 190, Arlington, Va. 22210.

Reference grammar designed for use with the Contemporary Cambodian textbooks used at the Foreign Service Institute. Contains a brief introduction to the language and its speakers, followed by a sketch of the phonology and an outline of the syntax. Final chapter discusses special problems of vocabulary and usage, focussing on the effects of relative age, social class, and relationships.

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Huffman, Franklin E. Cambodian System of Writing and Beginning Reader. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970.

A text for teaching students to read and write Khmer. The initial section provides a detailed explanation of the symbols used in the Khmer alphabet and the sounds they represent, as well as a discussion of punctuation marks.

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A description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Takeo dialect of Khmer.

_____ and Im Proum. English-Khmer Dictionary. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978. 690 pp., $20.00.

A one-way dictionary of 40,000 entries and sub-entries, designed for Cambodians learning English. Each entry contains a word, its part of speech, and its equivalent in Khmer. Care has been taken to provide clarifying contexts for each different meaning of a word. There's a brief description of Khmer, and descriptions of the alphabet and transliteration systems.

Markley, Rayner W. Handwriting Workbook. Encino, CA: English Language Services, Inc., 1977. 52 pp., about $2.25.

A workbook designed specifically for ESL students whose native languages do not use a Roman alphabet. Letter shapes of both cursive and printed forms are taught; students do exercises in letter recognition and production. There are no exercises in punctuation.

Nilsen, Don, and Alleen Pace Nilsen. Pronunciation Contrasts in English. New York: Regents, 1971. About $2.75.

A book of lessons on particular pronunciation problems, with lists of languages the speakers of which have the problems. (The lessons presented in this Guide are modelled after the lessons in this book.) There are extensive teaching suggestions, a glossary of terms, and phonetic descriptions.

Ponchaud, François. Cambodia: Year Zero. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978. 212 pp., about $9.50.

A description of the current regime in Democratic Kampuchea, based on accounts from hundreds of Cambodian refugees, and on official documents and broadcasts from Radio Phnom Penh. Ponchaud, who spent ten years in Cambodia and speaks and reads Khmer, discusses events leading up to the takeover, then describes the mass exodus of the people from the cities, and the policy of execution rather than re-education.

Steinberg, David, et al. Cambodia: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture. New Haven: Human Relations Area File Press, 1959.

A carefully researched and written discussion of Cambodia and its people, focussing on the problems the country faced during the fifties.